

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 933

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T COPENHAGEN 1461

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, NATO, DA

SUBJECT: SPAIN AND NATO

REF: A. COPENHAGEN 1448 B. STATE 115823 C. COPENHAGEN 1281
(NOTAL) D. COPENHAGEN 1181

SUMMARY: CONTRARY TO THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S INITIAL
POSITIVE REACTION TO THE US PROPOSAL FOR LANGUAGE ON SPAIN
IN THE DPC COMMUNIQUE, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY MAINTAINS
ITS COMPLETELY NEGATIVE VIEW ON ANY PUBLIC MENTION OF SPAIN
IN THE NATO CONTEXT AT THIS TIME AND STATES THIS WILL BE
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THE DANISH POSITION AT THE DPC MEETING. THE FOREIGN

MINISTRY POLITICAL DIRECTOR SAID HE BELIEVED THE DANISH VIEW IS SHARED BY MAJORITY OF EUROPEAN NATO MEMBERS AND URGED THAT THE US RECONSIDER INTRODUCING THE PROPOSED LANGUAGE INTO DPC COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING. HE WARNED THAT SUCH A STEP WOULD MAKE THIS ISSUE THE MAJOR FOCUS OF THE DPC MEETING, LEADING POSSIBLY TO ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE WHICH COULD NOT BE KEPT FROM THE MEDIA AND RESULT IN SETTING BACK THE CAREFUL, PRUDENT STEP-BY-STEP EFFORTS NEEDED TO LEAD SPAIN EVENTUALLY INTO THE WESTERN DEMOCRATIC COMMUNIT. HE INSISTED THAT ANY MENTION OF SPAIN, EVEN SOLELY IN THE MILITARY CONTEXT, WOULD MAKE IT A POLITICAL ISSUE WHICH WOULD SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE THE POSITION OF NATO'S STRONGEST SUPPORTERS IN DENMARK AND, PROBABLY, ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON DEFENSE MINISTER ORLA MOLLER ON MAY 20 (REF A), ADCM SAW MFA POLITICAL DIRECTOR OTTO BORCH, NOTING THAT AMBASSADOR HAD UTILIZED A CALL ON THE DEFENSE MINISTER ON ANOTHER MATTER TO RAISE ALSO THE QUESTION OF SPAIN AND NATO, THIS TIME IN A MORE PURELY MILITARY CONTEXT THAN IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS THE AMBASSADOR HAD WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER (REFS C AND D). BORCH SAID HE WAS AWARE OF THE AMBASSADOR'S APPROACH AND HAD RECEIVED A COPY OF THE US PROPOSAL. READING FROM WHAT APPARENTLY WAS A POSITION PAPER, HE SAID THAT THE PRESENT US PROPOSAL POSES THE SAME POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR DENMARK AS OUR EARLIER APPROACHES. HE UNDERSTOOD THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM FACED BY THE US IN ITS CURRENT BASE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN AND WANTED TO ASSURE US THAT THE DANISH GOVERNMENT VERY MUCH APPRECIATED THE OPEN AND FRANK PRESENTATION OF US VIEWS, BOTH IN COPENHAGEN AND WASHINGTON, ON THIS SUBJECT. HE WANTED TO BE EQUALLY FRANK AND OPEN IN EXPLAINING THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH DENMARK, A FAITHFUL NATO ALLY, HAD WITH THE SPAIN AND NATO ISSUE.

2. BORCH SAID THE DANISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVES IT ESSENTIAL TO PROTECT THE BROAD POLITICAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR NATO IN DENMARK. NATO IS A CORNERSTONE OF DANISH FOREIGN POLICY. TO GIVE ADHERENTS DOUBTS AND OPPONENTS AMMUNITION WOULD OPEN A DEBATE ON NATO WITHIN DENMARK WHICH THE GOV-

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ERNMENT SIMPLY CANNOT AND WILL NOT RISK. SPAIN, HE INSISTED, REMAINS A VERY SENSITIVE ISSUE WHICH MUST BE HANDLED WITH GREAT CARE, SLOWLY OVER TIME, BOTH TO ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIZATION IN SPAIN AND TO BRING DANISH AND OTHER EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR ITS EVENTUAL INCLUSION IN A WESTERN COMMUNITY ADHERING TO DEMOCRATIC IDEALS. SUCH A COMMUNITY, HE SAID, HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE DANISH IMAGE OF NATO, AND THE CREDIBILITY ON NATO'S ADHERENCE TO SUCH IDEALS

WOULD BECOME DANGEROUSLY STRAINED AT ANY PUBLIC MENTION OF A SPANISH CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSES -- HOWEVER TRUE THIS MAY BE. IN THIS CONTEXT, DENMARK CANNOT ENVISAGE A "RAPPROCHEMENT" BETWEEN THE ALLIANCE AND THE PRESENT REGIME IN SPAIN -- NOT EVEN THE LIMITED STEP IN THE DPC COMMUNIQUE PROPOSED BY THE US.

3. BORCH SAID THAT, IN THE SPIRIT OF OPENNESS IN THE DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE, HE WANTED TO PROPOSE THAT THE US VERY CAREFULLY CONSIDER THE DAMAGE WHICH COULD BE CAUSED THE ALLIANCE BY FURTHER DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE. HE NOTED THAT THE PRESS HAD ALREADY GOTTEN WIND OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, AND IT CERTAINLY WOULD PLAY THEM UP DRAMATICALLY IF THE ISSUE BECAME A MATTER OF CONTENTIOUS DEBATE IN THE DPC.

4. ASIDE FROM THE CLOUD WHICH SUCH DEBATE COULD CAST ON THE NATO MINISTERIAL AND SUMMIT, BORCH SAID HE WAS, FRANKLY, ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT SOME MORE PAROCHIAL ASPECTS -- NAMELY THE POTENTIALLY NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH SPAIN FOR THOSE NATO MEMBERS -- SUCH AS DENMARK -- WHO MAY BECOME PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS OPPOSING AN OPENING TO SPAIN IN NATO.

5. HE FELT THIS WAS NOT AN UNIMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN THE LARGER CONTEXT AS WELL. DENMARK, AS OTHER NATO MEMBERS, HAS REASONABLY GOOD, AND QUIET, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SPAIN. ECONOMIC RELATIONS ARE GOOD AND TRADE IS GROWING. SPAIN IS A POPULAR VACATION SPOT FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF DANISH TOURISTS. DENMARK FIRMLY SUPPORTS EC EFFORTS TO IMPROVE COMMUNITY TRADE RELATIONS WITH SPAIN. THESE ARE SAFE STEPS WHICH CAN BE TAKEN NOW TO BRING SPAIN INTO CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. OTHER STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE BUT, HE EMPHASIZED, MOVES

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TOWARD BRINGING SPAIN INTO A CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH THE COMMON DEFENSE SHOULD COME LAST AND THEN ONLY AFTER CLEAR SIGNS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN SPAIN ARE PRESENT.

6. ADCM REVIEWED AGAIN THE CONSIDERATIONS ON WHICH THE USG INITIATED THE CURRENT DISCUSSION ON SPAIN WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, NOTING IN PARTICULAR THAT THE PRESENT PROPOSAL WAS A SIGNIFICANT MODIFICATION OF THE BROADER PROPOSALS UNDER EARLIER DISCUSSION. HE SAID WE RECOGNIZED THE SENSITIVITIES AMONG OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES OF WHICH BORCH HAD SPOKEN AND WERE THEREFORE PROPOSING A STATEMENT JUSTIFIABLE ON MILITARY RATHER THAN POLITICAL GROUNDS. BORCH SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS DISTINCTION; THAT ANY STATEMENT ON SPAIN IN THE NATO CONTEXT HAS POLITICAL CONNOTATIONS. ADCM THEN ASKED - ON A PERSONAL

BASIS BUT USING ROUGHLY THE LANGUAGE IN OUR FALLBACK POSITION
IN PARA 3 OF REF B -- WHETHER DENMARK COULD NOT ACCEPT
DPC COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE WHICH SIMPLY NOTED A QUITE
LEGITIMATE REPORT BY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TO HIS FELLOW
DEFENSE MINISTERS ON THE STATUS OF US-SPANISH DEFENSE
COOPERATION. BORCH SAID NOT IF IT INVOLVED AN ACKNOWLEDGE-
MENT OF SPAIN'S IMPORTANCE TO NATO. IN SUMMARY, HE
SAID HE COULD THINK OF NO RPT NO LANGUAGE IN ANY NATO
COMMUNIQUE ACCEPTABLE TO DENMARK WHICH MENTIONED SPAIN.

6. EMBASSY COMMENT: BORCH DELAYED THE APPOINTMENT
WITH US UNTIL VERY LATE IN THE DAY TO BE ABLE TO GIVE US
"DENMARK'S POSITION" ON THE LATEST US PROPOSAL WHICH HAD
BEEN PRESENTED BY THE AMBASSADOR TO THE DEFENSE MINISTER
THAT MORNING. HE SEEMED PURPOSELY TO KEEP FUZZY WHETHER
THIS POSITION HAD BEEN CLEARED WITH FOREIGN MINISTER K.B.
ANDERSEN. WE SUSPECT NOT, BUT BELIEVE THAT BORCH WAS
COMPLETELY CONFIDENT THAT ANDERSEN WOULD SUSTAIN HIM IN THIS
POSITION, EVEN AGAINST THE MORE POSITIVE REACTION THE DEFENSE
MINISTER HAD GIVEN THE AMBASSADOR. THERE IS NOTHING IN THE
FOREIGN MINISTER'S PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AMBASSADOR
ON THIS SUBJECT (REFS C AND D) WHICH WOULD INDICATE OTHERWISE.
IT SEEMS THEREFORE MOST PROBABLE THAT THE DEFENSE MINISTER
WILL GO TO THE DPC MEETING WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO OPPOSE ANY
US ATTEMPTS TO INSERT LANGUAGE ON SPAIN IN THE DPC COMMUNI-
QUE, EVEN LANGUAGE SHORT OF OUR FALLBACK.

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